AN IMPORTANT MANUSCRIPT OF THE TRADITIONS OF BUKHĀRI

WITH NINE FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS

BY

A. MINGANA

CAMBRIDGE
W. HEFFER AND SONS, LIMITED
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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, ABERDEEN

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I.

At the end of the following pages I give nine facsimile reproductions from a manuscript consisting of one hundred and four pages, which are all that remain of a manuscript of Bukhāri's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, or Authentic Traditions. This traditional work which passes under the name of Bukhāri, or to give him his full name, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Mughīrah b. Bardizbah a. 'Abdallah Ju'fi Bukhāri, who died in 256 (A.D. 870), is second only to the Qur'ān in its importance for Islam, and, apart from the Qur'ān, no other book has given birth to so many subsequent studies and commentaries. Purporting to give the very words of the Prophet and his conduct in all affairs of life, it takes the first rank in the list of the six traditional books called *al-kutub as-sittah*, on which the *corpus juris*, or *sharī'ah*, of orthodox Islam is based.

The manuscript forms part of my collection of Islamic Arabic manuscripts, and is numbered Mingana Arab. (Isl.) 225. It is incomplete at the end, and so bears no date, but on palaeographical grounds it may be ascribed to about A.D. 1000, or to a slightly earlier date, and may thus be considered as probably the earliest MS. of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhāri that has come down to us. It contains only three *ḳitābs*: the *zakāt* (complete), the *ṣaum* (incomplete at the end), and the *ḥajj* (incomplete both at the beginning and at the end).[1] The body of the text is written in a Naskhi hand, which is more Egyptian than Syrian, and is more or less

[1] Twenty-one leaves are also missing between ff. 44 and 45.

similar to the hand used in papyri dated 4th century of the Hijrah, as for instance in papyri nos. X. 11, XV. 44, and XV. 63 of the John Rylands Library.[1]

The MS. has been chemically examined in the research laboratory of the Kalamazoo Works at Northfield, Birmingham,[2] and its fibres have been there pronounced to be of sunn hemp, a plant which is indigenous to India and Persia. This scientific fact seems also to point to a date about A.D. 970-1000, when papyrus was still used to a great extent in Egypt, as the large number of papyri dating from the fourth century of the Hijrah, and preserved in Cairo, Vienna, the John Rylands Library, and in my own collection, testify. It was only towards the end of the fourth Islamic century that paper began to supersede papyrus in the land of the Nile.[3] Any paper used in it before that period was imported from the East, probably from Baghdad. As stated above, the MS. was written in Egypt; but since sunn hemp never grew in Egypt—any paper made there in early times being of linen[4]—the paper used for the execution of the MS. could not have been made in that country. The principal places where paper was in later times made in Egypt were Asuān,[5] Cairo,[6] and Būri, near Damietta.[7]

The supersession of papyrus by paper was not effected without a struggle. From a sentence in the *Apology for Christianity*[8] by Timothy I, the East Syrian Patriarch, we know for certain that even in Baghdad the letters of the Caliph Mahdi (A.D. 775-785)

[1] *Catalogue of the Arabic Papyri of the John Rylands Library*, by D. S. Margoliouth, 1933.

[2] For the methods of examining MSS. together with general information about the study of MSS. and the materials on which they are written, see R. B. Haselden, *Scientific Aids for the Study of MSS.* (Bibliographical Society, 1935), and references therein to other works such as: C. F. Cross and E. J. Bevan, *Text Book of Paper Making*; C. Ainsworth Mitchell, *Documents and their Scientific Examination*; Gordon A. Jahan, *A Brief History of Paper* (*Book Collector's Quarterly*, xv, 42), etc.

[3] D. S. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of Arabic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, p. xi.

[4] Evetts, in Abu Ṣāliḥ's *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 66; and cf. *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, ii, 87-255.

[5] Evetts and Butler, in Abu Ṣāliḥ's *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 66.

[6] Maqrīzi, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 10, 230.

[7] Evetts and Butler, in Abu Ṣāliḥ's *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 66.

[8] In my *Woodbrooke Studies*, ii, 21.

were written on papyrus, and not on paper. Maqrīzi[1] affirms that paper began to be used in the public offices of that city in the time of Hārūn ar-Rashīd (A.D. 786-809). Tha'ālibi[2] quotes Jāḥiẓ of Baṣrah, who died in A.D. 869, to the effect that "the papyri of Egypt are to the West like the papers of Samarqand to the East." From this statement we may draw the conclusion that, in the middle of the ninth Christian century, while Eastern Islam was using paper, Western Islam was still continuing to use papyrus.

Many diacritical points in the MS. are in the hand of the copyist himself, although a few are to be attributed to later owners or scribes. Well-known proper names and easily read words have generally no diacritical points, but most of the difficult words and unfamiliar proper names are supplied with them by the copyist himself. The headings of *ḳitābs* are in blue ink, and those of *bābs* in red. The writing of the former slightly resembles the ornamental script found in some ancient mosques, but the diacritical points in them are due to a later hand.[3]

On the title-page are inscriptions, the earliest of which is dated Ramaḍān, A.H. 464 (A.D. 1071–1072), and is written by 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. 'Abd as-Salam.[4] It is as follows :

سمع منى ابو محمد عبد الله بن عبد السلم بن شجاع وكتابه هذا ممسك له
الى اخره كتابي الذي سمعته على الشيخ ابي حفص عمر بن الحسن الهوزني
بقراة ولدي مروان في اصل نسختي وذلك بثغر الاسكندرية حماه الله. كتب
عثمان بن محمد بن مروان بن عبد السلم في شهر رمضان سنة اربع وستين واربعماية.

Another inscription is dated Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, 574 (A.D. 1178), and is as follows :

قراته جميعه على صاحبه.[5] وكتب الفقير الى ربه حرمل بن جميل الحنفي
بتاريخ ذي الحجة سنة اربع وسبعين وخمسماية.

[1] *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 91, quoted by D. S. Margoliouth, *ibid.* p. xi.

[2] *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, p. 97, cited by de Goeje, *Gloss. Geog.*, p. 341.

[3] The Arabic numbering of the folios of the MS. show that fol. 13 was misplaced by the binder who originally numbered these folios, and was counted by him as 4.

[4] The name had been scored through and rendered illegible by a later hand, possibly that of a Shī'i, but it has been brought out by a reagent and ultra-violet rays.

[5] A possible reading of this word suggested by Margoliouth.

A third inscription seems to be dated Rajab, 618, but the year cannot be read with safety. It is a long inscription, containing the names of many students of *ḥadīth*, who heard the volume from an eminent Shaikh whose name cannot be deciphered. There is no need to print here all the proper names of this inscription, which begins and ends as follows :

سمع منّي هذا الجزء من اوله الى اخره بقراة الشيخ ابن الحجاج . . . في رجب سنة ٦١٨ (؟).

On the title-page there is also a long note written about A.D. 1350, and containing a list of authorities bearing on the general authenticity of the text of Bukhāri. It is more or less similar to that prefixed to many other MSS. of Bukhāri, and differs from them only in the identity of the readers, hearers and *ḥāfiẓs* who have from time to time, orally or in writing, transmitted the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The first line of this note has disappeared, and three proper names in it are also illegible. These will be indicated in the transcription which I give below, by three dots between square brackets :

. . . الفاطمي الحسني الكوفي ايده الله قرات جميعه بالاندلس على احمد بن محمد بن [. . .] رحمهم الله منهم المقري الحسين [. . .] وخدمني به عن جماعة من شيوخه اقربهم اسنادا الامام ابن الاصبغ قصي بن محمد بن ابي اسير الزهري الشنتري ورحلت الى [. . .] وسمعته على الفقيه القاضي باركش [و]بقية المحدثين بقرطبة ابي القسم خلف بن عبد الملك بن بشكوال الانصاري قال ثنا به جماعة منهم الشيخ ابو العباس احمد بن عبد الله القونكي يعرف بالعطار قالا حدثتنا الحرة الفاضلة كريمة بنت احمد الكشميهنية بالحرم الشريف سماعا قالت سمعته على الاديب ابي الهيثم الكشميهني قال ذو النسبين ايده الله واجازنا عامة ابو الوقت عبد الاول بن عيسى بن شعيب السجزي الصوفي قال ثنا جمال الاسلام ابو الحسن عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن المظفر الداودي قراة عليه وانا اسمع ببوشنج سنة خمس وستين واربعماية ثنا ابو محمد عبد الله بن احمد بن حمويه السرخسي قال ثنا ابو عبد الله محمد بن يوسف بن مطر الفربري ثنا الحافظ ابو عبد الله محمد بن اسمعيل بن المغيرة البخاري بن

المغيرة هو الذي اسلم من المجوسية على يدي اليمان الجعفي والي بخارا وتو
في رحمه الله منفيا عن وطنه ممتحنا بقرية خرتنك على نحوم من ثلثة اميال
من سمرقند ليلة عيد الفطر وهو يوم السبت سنة ست وخمسين ومايتين وله
اثنان وستون سنة الا ثلثة عشر يوما.

The inscription which is written in a perpendicular way on the right-hand margin of the MS. is important because its writer, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Maṣ'ūbi, states that he compared the text of the present MS. with a copy transcribed from an autograph of Abu'l-Waqt, and with another copy in the handwriting of Abu Dharr,[1] the variants of which he noted on the margins of the MS. This note, which may be ascribed to the end of the fourteenth Christian century, is as follows :

قال محمد بن احمد المصعوبي قابلت نسختي هذه بنسخة مقابلة باصل عليه
خط ابي الوقت وعلمت له قت ولما سقط عنده س قت هكذا ليعلم ذلك.
وكان معنا نسخة باصل ابي ذر فما كان فيه ايضا من الخلاف عليه ذ فانه له
وما كان عليه خ فانه له نسخة. والله الموفق.

The remaining six inscriptions are by owners and readers. They are of no importance for the study of the text, but I give them here in full for the benefit of the reader :

1. ملكه محمد بن محمد بن عبد السلام المنوفي غفر الله له ولوالديه
2. سمعه جميعه وما فيه ابو المظفر الصقلي الحنفي العثماني
3. في نوبة الفقير محمد الشافعي ابن شرف الدين عفى الله عنه
4. سمعه وما قبله عبد العزيز بن صالح بن حمزة الحنفي
5. مسموع عبد الحق بن هبة الله طاهر بن حمزة القضاعي من اوله الى
اخره قبله غفر الله له ولوالديه.
6. ملكه محمد بن حسين . . . سنة ٨١

The above copyist, Maṣ'ūbi, has also occasionally compared the text of the present MS. with that of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, and that of the well-known *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik b. Anas. The signs which

[1] Abu'l-Waqt and Abu Dharr are, as we shall see, two of the best transmitters of Bukhāri's text.

he used, as he tells us in his inscription, are : قت , in case the text of the present MS. is found in the text of Abu'l-Waqt, and س قت , in case the present text differs from that of Abu'l-Waqt. Likewise the letter ـ signifies that the text of the present MS. is more or less similar to that found in the text of Abu Dharr, and the letter ح signifies that the text of the present MS. is different from the autograph of Abu Dharr, but attested in other MSS.

The importance of the MS. is emphasized by marginal notes on ff. 31*a* and 36*a*, dated 744 and 745 respectively, to the effect that it was read before the Shaikh Tāj ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. 'Umar Bilbīsi. Further, the inscription on the right-hand side of fol. 36*a* seems to refer to the fact that Abu'l-Waqt also had seen the MS.

Many features separate the present MS. from other MSS. of Bukhāri's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[1]

i. The names of Muslim saints and pious men are not followed by the complimentary formula : "May God be pleased with him or her," or "May God bless or save him or her," etc. This formula is reserved exclusively for the Prophet Muḥammad.

ii. Every tradition, whether long or short, is introduced by the sentence : "Bukhāri informed us, saying, 'So and so told us'."

In any other book the reader would immediately conclude from such introductory words that it was not the author himself who wrote the book, but one of his disciples. In the MS. under consideration this hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that in the beginning of *ḳitāb as-ṣaum* even the names of the *rāwis* or the *muḥaddiths* who "informed" the writer of the present MS. are given (fol. 26*b*) as Abu Zaid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Marwazi and Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Farabri.[2]

[1] Attention was drawn to these features in a short article printed in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1936, pp. 287–292.

[2] At the beginning of the *ḳitāb as-zaḳāt*, the *nisbah* of the above traditionists is not given, and their names appear on fol. 1*b* as Abu Zaid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, and Muḥammad b. Yūsuf respectively. These two traditionists will be spoken of below. The name "Farabri" may also be spelt "Firabri," which is the reading of the present MS.

So the *kitāb as-ṣaum* begins as follows: "We were told by Abu Zaid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Marwazi, who said: 'We were told by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Farabri, who said, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhāri informed us, saying, We were told, etc.'":

حدثنا ابو زيد محمد بن احمد المروزي قال حدثنا محمد بن يوسف الفربري قال اخبرنا محمد بن اسمعيل البخاري قال حدثنا الخ.

These introductory sentences imply that the writer of the present MS. (*a*) was an important traditionist, and (*b*) obtained his information concerning the text of Bukhāri not from a written text emanating from Bukhāri himself, but from a text either written, or, more probably, orally given to him, by the two intermediary traditionists, Muḥammad Marwazi and Muḥammad Farabri. It will be suggested at the end of this study that the writer of the present MS. was Aṣīli, a well-known and early authority on the text of Bukhāri.

iii. The discrepancies which characterize the text of the present MS. as compared with that found in other MSS. and in the printed texts are reflected also in the phraseology of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which sometimes exhibits considerable divergencies in its wording. I will give here the text of a *bāb* of Bukhāri from the *kitāb al-ḥajj*, as found in the authoritative and fully vowelled edition printed in Cairo in A.H. 1345, side by side with the corresponding *bāb* as found in our MS.:

Mingana Arab. (*Isl.*) 225, fol. 45*a*:

باب من اين يخرج من مكة

اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا مسدد بن مسرهد قال حدثنا يحيى عن عبيد الله عن نافع عن ابن عمر ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل مكة من كدا من الثنية العليا التي بالبطحا

Printed text, Cairo, 1345 (ii, 178):

باب من اين يخرج من مكة

حدثنا مسدد بن مسرهد البصري حدثنا يحيى عن عبيد الله عن نافع عن ابن عمر رضي الله عنهما ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل مكة من كداء من الثنية العليا التي

Mingana Arab. (cont.)

وخرج من الثنية السفلى. هـ. اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا الحميدي ومحمد بن المثنى قالا حدثنا سفين بن عيينه عن هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عايشة ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لما جا الى مكة دخلها من اعلاها وخرج من اسفلها. هـ. اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا احمد قال اخبرنا عمرو عن هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عايشة ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل عام الفتح من كدا من اعلا مكة قال هشام وكان عروة يدخل على كلتيهما من كَدا وكُدى واكثر ما يدخل من كدى وكانت اقربهما الى منزله. هـ. اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا ابن عبد الوهاب قال حدثنا حاتم عن هشام ابن عروة دخل النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عام الفتح من كدا من اعلا مكة وكان عروة اكثر ما يدخل من كدا وكان اقربهما الى منزله. هـ. قال محمد حدثنا يونس قال حدثنا وهيب قال حدثنا هشام عن ابيه دخل النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عام الفتح من كُدى وكان عروة يدخل منهما كليهما

Printed text (cont.)

بالبطحاء ويخرج من الثنية السفلى. قال ابو عبد الله كان يقال هو مسدد كاسمه. قال ابو عبد الله سمعت يحيى بن معين يقول سمعت يحيى بن سعيد يقول لو ان مسددا اتيته في بيته فحدثته لاستحق ذلك وما ابالي كتبي كانت عندي او عند مسدد. حدثنا الحميدي ومحمد بن المثنى قال حدثنا سفيان بن عيينة عن هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لما جاء الى مكة دخل من اعلاها وخرج من اسفلها. حدثنا محمود بن غيلان المروزي حدثنا ابو اسامة حدثنا هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل عام الفتح من كَداء وخرج من كُداً من اعلى مكة. حدثنا احمد حدثنا ابن وهب اخبرنا عمرو عن هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل عام الفتح من كداء اعلى مكة. قال هشام وكان عروة يدخل على كتيهما من كَداء وكدا واكثر ما يدخل من كَدا وكانت

Printed text (cont.)

اقربهما الى منزله. حدثنا عبد الله بن عبد الواهب حدثنا حاتم عن هشام عن عروة دخل النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من كَداء من اعلى مكة وكان عروة اكثر ما يدخل من كَدا وكان اقربهما الى منزله. حدثنا موسى حدثنا وهيب حدثنا هشام عن ابيه دخل النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عام الفتح من كَداء وكان عروة يدخل منهما كليهما واكثر ما يدخل من كَداء اقربهما الى منزله. قال ابو عبد الله[1] كَداء وكُداً موضعان.

Mingana Arab. (cont.)

واكثر ما يدخل من كُدى اقربهما الى منزله. هـ. اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا محمود قال حدثنا ابو اسامة قال حدثنا هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عايشة ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل عام الفتح من كُدى وخرج من كَدا من اعلا مكة. هـ.[2]

iv. A fourth feature exhibited in the MS. is that the *kitābs* are not in the same order as that found in other MSS. and printed texts. So the whole section of *ṣaum*, or Fasting (fol. 26*b*), precedes that of *ḥajj*, or Pilgrimage (fol. 45*a*); and the above copyist-owner, Maṣ'ūbi, who compared the text of the present MS. with those in the handwriting of Abu'l-Waqt and Abu Dharr, states in a marginal note on the left-hand side of fol. 26*b* that the MS. in the handwriting of Abu'l-Waqt had the section of *ḥajj* immediately after the section of *zakāt*, and before the section of *ṣaum*.

The foregoing points differentiate the text of the present MS. from that of any other known MS. and printed edition of Bukhāri. I will now proceed to examine the above differences in detail.

[1] The Abu 'Abdallah who is mentioned twice in this *bāb* of the text of Bukhāri is Muḥammad b. Yūsuf abu 'Abdallah Farabri, whose importance for the transmission of the text of Bukhāri will be emphasized in the following sections.

[2] On the margin is the last sentence: قال ابو عبد الله كَدا وكُدا موضعان. هـ

The difference under the first head may be due to pious interpolations by subsequent transmitters, editors or copyists of Bukhāri, and does not affect in any way the text itself of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. It is possible to suppose that the formula does not emanate from Bukhāri himself, who may not have wished to swell the size of his book by the constant repetition of unnecessary words which are, after all, very incidental to his text. Possibly the custom of writing this complimentary formula, except in the case of the Prophet, was not prevalent in early MSS., and it began to be more frequently and systematically used in MSS. towards the middle of the fourth century of the Hijrah. We have not many ancient MSS. preceding this date, from which to judge of the extent of the custom.

The divergencies under the second head are more grave. In all the other MSS. and printed texts of Bukhāri, it is Bukhāri himself who speaks : " I was told," or " We were told, by so and so that the Prophet did or said so and so." In the present MS. it is not Bukhāri who is speaking directly and immediately, but Aṣīli, the supposed writer of the MS., and this through a chain of two intermediaries between himself and Bukhāri, the traditional author. These two intermediaries are Abu Zaid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Marwazi, who is imparting the information direct to Aṣīli, and Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Farabri, who had imparted the same information direct from Bukhāri to Marwazi. Was the writer of the present MS. a mere copyist of a text lying before him, or a responsible and influential man who was (*a*) transcribing from an earlier MS., or (*b*) committing to writing the sentences conveyed to him orally by his " informer " Marwazi ?

If we suppose that the writer of the MS. was a mere copyist, what kind of text could he have had before him ? If that text was a text of Bukhāri in exactly the same form as we have it in our days, he must have inserted out of his own head, in almost every line, a sentence which was not in his original, and in this case he would not have been a mere copyist ; nor is it conceivable that any text emanating from Bukhāri himself could have contained the frequently-repeated statement " Bukhāri informed us."

On the other hand, if, as we have stated above, the writer of the MS. was an influential author, who was writing the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of

Bukhāri from a written text, in order to hand it down to posterity in a neat copy and in a well-edited form, why did he also use before every *kitāb*: "We have been informed that Bukhāri said," and give the name of his informers, Marwazi and Farabri? Can this formula apply simply to the right reading of the text of Bukhāri as lying before him? If this were the case, his MS. would simply have dealt with the right reading and vowelling of the difficult words of the text of Bukhāri, and would not have contained verbatim the whole text of his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Is it possible to consider a MS. containing the whole text of Bukhāri as merely a lexicographical and grammatical work on this text?

It follows from the above suggestions that the differences under this head could not have emanated from a mere copyist transcribing from a complete and systematic MS. of Bukhāri lying before him, or from a responsible and influential man working on such a MS. A more workable hypothesis would appear to postulate an important transmitter taking oral notes from a teacher. This hypothesis is strengthened by a sentence found at the bottom of fol. 25*b*, which reads as follows: "Said Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Farabri, 'I heard some of our friends tell from Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl [Bukhāri] that he said, We have been told by 'Abdallah b. Munīr —and I have not seen one (i.e. a narrator) like him—.'[1] And Muḥammad b. Yūsuf said, 'Ibn Munīr Farabri lived in Farabr, and died before 245, and it is he who conquered Asbījāb[2] when it apostatised.'"

قال محمد بن يوسف الفربري سمعت بعض اصحابنا عن محمد بن اسمعيل انه قال حدثنا عبد الله بن منير ولم ار مثله. وقال محمد بن يوسف ابن منير فربري سكن فربر ومات قبل الخمس واربعين ومايتين وهو الذي فتح اسبيجاب لما ارتدوا.

Such a sentence which is not found in any modern MS. or printed text of Bukhāri, was presumably written by a pupil of

[1] Curiously enough, this sentence about Ibn Munīr is quoted in 'Asqalāni's *Tahdhīb* (vi, 43, edit. Hyderabad), where it is erroneously stated that he died in 43 (*sic!*) = 243?

[2] A town called also *Asfījāb*. See Ibn Rosteh, *Kitāb al A'lāq*, vol. vii, pp. 98, 248, 295, in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*; ibn Khurdādbeh, *Masālik* (*ibid.*) Vol. vi, pp. 27, 28, etc.; and Yāqūt, *Buldān*, i, 230 (edit. Cairo, A.H. 1323).

Farabri, and not by Farabri himself, and so does not presuppose a MS. earlier than Marwazi ; and since Marwazi himself is not known to have written anything, it may be supposed that it was delivered orally by him to the writer of the present MS.

At the beginning of many MSS. of Bukhāri and of other books on the *ḥadīth*, there are notes to the effect that " so and so heard the text from so and so," but in such cases the word used is *samiʿa*, " to hear," and not the words *aḫbara* and *ḥaddatha* used in the present MS ; and moreover, the word *samiʿa* has never been found constantly repeated before every sentence of a text, as the word *aḫbara* is used in the present MS.

It is also a well-known fact that in ancient times—and to a large extent in modern times also—a pupil learned the text of an important work from a teacher, and after the latter was satisfied with the proficiency of the former, he gave him a diploma to read and to teach that text to others. This diploma is called *ijāzah*, but there is nothing to suggest in the present MS., containing the complete text of Bukhāri, that the teacher of its writer was giving him a simple *ijāzah* to write the text of Bukhāri. Such an hypothesis, to anyone who would care to peruse carefully the MS., would appear untenable. Indeed the writer of the MS. is not saying : " My master, Marwazi, authorized me to write the text of Bukhāri in such and such a way, as he himself had been authorized by Farabri," but is simply giving us the whole text of Bukhāri, to which he prefixes the formula : " I was informed by Marwazi, who was himself informed by Farabri, that Bukhāri told so and so." The information orally given in this way deals simply with the historical fact that Bukhāri uttered the sentence as reproduced in the MS.

Arabic *ḥadīth* literature shows also cases of some writers who use an *isnād* of proper names in order to demonstrate a *matn*, or a fact, which they took more or less literally and verbatim from a book written by a previous writer. Such a case cannot be applied to the present MS., which contains the whole text of a voluminous book, and not one isolated historical fact. Further, in such cases it is to be believed that the second writer, unless he be proved to be a forger and a liar, had really obtained the same information

from an independent source, or from narrators other than those quoted by the first author.

The idea may perhaps be entertained that although Aṣīli, the supposed writer of the present MS., places before every sentence, as from the mouth of his master Marwazi, the words "We have been informed that Bukhāri said so and so," he had also, lying before him, a complete written text of Bukhāri, and that he was making use of two independent traditions, one of which came to him in an oral form from Marwazi, and the other in a written form from a MS. of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Would he, in that case, have repeated the words "We have been informed" before every sentence? One would have expected him to refer once, in the introduction, to the fact that he had heard the MS. of Bukhāri read to him by such and such a teacher in the way he had transcribed it, without repeating the fact before every sentence; and the expression used then would not have been, "We have been informed by so and so that Bukhāri said so and so," but some such expression as, "So and so taught me to read the text of Bukhāri in such and such a way." Indeed many MSS. of Bukhāri have a long introductory note (similar to that reproduced above) in which all the authorities for the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* are mentioned, but these authorities are never quoted before every sentence in the body of the text.

The differences under the third head which deal with the variants in the wording of the text of the present MS. as compared with that found in other MSS., may partly be accounted for by interpolations by later copyists and traditionists. Any reader who compares the *bāb* of the text of Bukhāri which is reproduced above from the present MS. and from the printed text, will easily convince himself of this fact. He will admit, for instance, that the following sentence in the printed text is a mere interpolation, emanating as stated above, page 9 note 1, from the oral source, Farabri, as the "Abu 'Abdallah" mentioned in it can only refer to Farabri, whose full name is Muḥammad b. Yūsuf abu 'Abdallah Farabri.

قال ابو عبد الله كان يقال هو مسدد كاسمه قال ابو عبد الله سمعت يحيى بن معين يقول سمعت يحيى بن سعيد يقول لو ان مسددا اتيته في بيته فحدثته لاستحق ذلك وما ابالي كتبي كانت عندي او عند مسدد.

The same, however, cannot be said of the order in which a tradition is placed before or after another. For instance in the *bāb* which we have printed above, one sees that a tradition which in the printed text is placed before another tradition, is placed in the MS. after that tradition. If the writer of the MS. was simply copying a text from another written MS., this strange phenomenon could surely not have occurred.

All this seems to suggest that the text of Bukhāri, at the time the present MS. saw the light, was still in a fluid state, and not definitely fixed in the form in which we have it in our days.

The *bāb* which we have printed above will also show that whole traditions found in the printed text are missing in our MS. These traditions seem to be independent entities, coming from a source different from that of our MS. If the writer of our MS. was a mere copyist, copying from a written text, is it likely that he would have omitted to copy whole traditions found in the text lying before him? This fact also appears to suggest that the text of Bukhāri underwent many vicissitudes before it reached its present standardized form.

The same conclusion will be reached by any reader who will study the differences that arise under the fourth head, which deals with the change in the order of the *ḳitābs* of the text of Bukhāri. If the writer of our MS. was a mere copyist of a written text lying before him, how could he have altered the order of the books as found in the MS. which he was transcribing? How could he, for instance, have written the whole book of *ṣaum* before that of *ḥajj*, contrary to all the modern MSS. and printed texts, which place the book of *ḥajj* immediately after the book of *zaḳāt*, and before the book of *ṣaum*? Does not this fact also suggest that at the time the present MS. was written the text of Bukhāri was not yet fixed in a systematic form, as we have it in our days?

It is possible to suppose that sections of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, handed down in a written and systematic form, may have been found in this or that town, but it is hardly likely that if its whole text was extant in a written and systematic form, an ancient MS. like the present one should, by an inexplicable occurrence, have contained sections of it in a different order from that found in all the other MSS. of

which we have any knowledge. If MSS. of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* older than the present one were in existence in the form in which we have it in our days, and the present MS. is a mere copy of them, have we any reason to suppose that its writer or copyist deliberately changed in his copy the order of the books of the written text as lying before him? If he did effect that change, what reason had he for doing so? It is indeed strange that the writer of the MS., who is so careful to refer to his teacher Marwazi before every section of his compilation, should never have referred once to a written text lying before him. If that supposed written text bore the stamp of authenticity of an early transmitter, such as Farabri or Kushmaihani, would he not have enhanced the value of his copy by mentioning this fact? All considerations, therefore, lead us to suppose that (*a*) the writer of the present MS. had not the whole text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* lying before him in the standardized form of our days, and that (*b*) the main source for the authenticity of the text which he was writing was his teacher Marwazi.

II.

Prefixed to many MSS. of Bukhāri's work are long notes, similar in form to that reproduced above, which deal with the authenticity of the text found in them, and going back, through a more or less uninterrupted chain of authorities, to Bukhāri himself. Many MSS. of Bukhāri contain also on their margins various readings from early transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. To facilitate further researches on the transmission of Bukhāri's text, I will subjoin below (pp. 17–18) the list of the best of these authorities and transmitters, and indicate the year of their death, with reference to some current Arabic works in which mention is made of them.[1]

Before discussing in detail, however, the question of the best transmitters and editors of Bukhāri's text, it would be useful to

[1] Reference might have been made to more works, but those mentioned in the footnotes have been deemed sufficient.

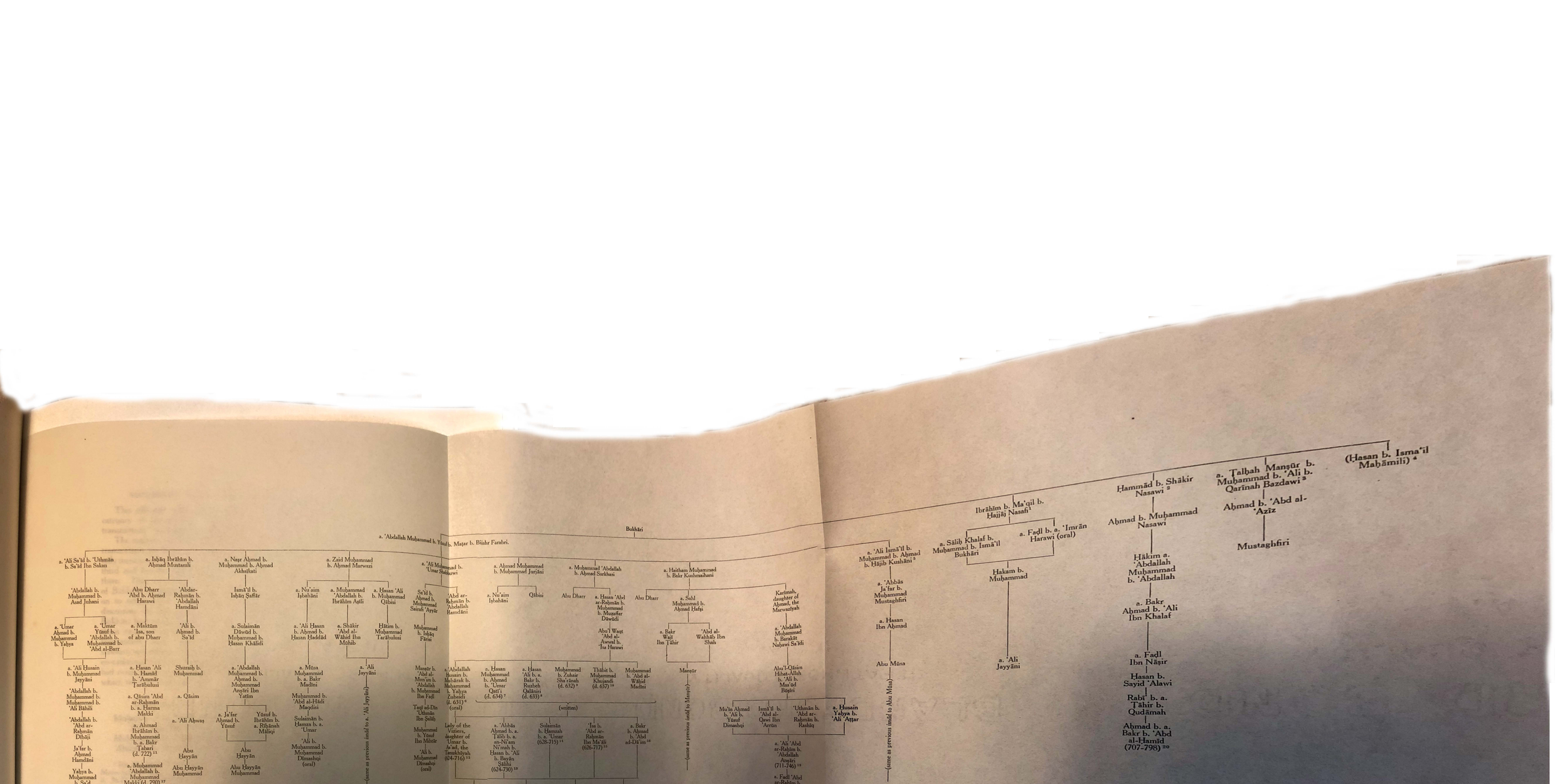
give here, in the form of a table, the complete list of all the transmitters and editors as registered by 'Asqalāni in the introduction to his celebrated commentary on the text of Bukhāri entitled *Fatḥ al-Bāri*, and found on ff. 1*b*-2*b* of a manuscript in my collection numbered Mingana Arab. (Isl.) 496, which is more or less contemporary with the author.[1] (See table.)

We may divide the transmitters found in the above table, which is based on 'Asqalāni's introduction, into four categories. The first category, which we may term that of the first transmitters, contains the names of the four men who had heard Bukhāri himself: Farabri, Nasafi, Nasawi and Bazdawi, of whom the first, Farabri, is by far the most important. Of the other three, only the name of Nasafi is found in Sam'āni's *Ansāb*, and that without any mention of his having written anything on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhāri. Farabri is the only one of the four who is mentioned by Sam'āni, Dhahabi and others in connection with the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Later traditionists certainly mention some verbal variants from Nasafi, Nasawi and Bazdawi, but all these variants appear to be of the nature of stray words orally transmitted, and no systematic work on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* as we have it in our days, by these three authors, has come down to us.

Nor has any systematic work on Bukhāri come down to posterity from the second category of transmitters, to the number of nine, who had received their *Ṣaḥīḥ* from the first category of transmitters. In the case of one of the best of them, Abu Zaid Marwazi, we have the authority of the present MS. that his teaching was probably oral. He is there given as a mere oral transmitter of Farabri's *riwāyah*.

The transmitters of the third category may be called "first editor-transmitters." This category contains such names as those of Abu Dharr, Aṣīli, Qābisi, Dāwūdi, and Abu Nu'aim, who have certainly left definite traces to posterity, and done a more or less systematic work in writing on the *riwāyahs* of the first and second categories of transmitters, which had come down to them.

[1] In cases where a *riwāyah* as given by 'Asqalāni is somewhat complicated, as, for instance, in the case of Dāwūdi's *riwāyah*, I have added, between brackets, the year of death of the best known of the intermediary Shaikhs, with reference to some authors who make mention of them.


Bukhārī
a. 'Abdallah Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar b. Bīthr Farabri.
a. 'Alī Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd Ibn Sakan
a. Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad Mustamlī
a. Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Akhnāṭī
a. Zaid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Marwazī
a. 'Alī Muḥammad b. 'Umar Shahbuwi
a. Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Jurjānī
a. Muḥammad 'Abdallah b. Aḥmad Sarkhasi
a. Haitham Muḥammad b. Bakr Kushmaihani
Ibrāhīm b. Ma'qil b. Ḥajjāj Nasafī [1]
Ḥammād b. Shākir Nasawī [2]
a. Ṭalḥah Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Qarīnah Bazdawī [3]
(Ḥasan b. Isma'īl Maḥāmilī) [4]
'Abdallah b. Muḥammad b. Asad Juhani
Abu Dharr 'Abd b. Aḥmad Harawi
'Abdar-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallah Ḥamdānī
Ismā'il b. Isḥāq Ṣaffār
a. Nu'aim Iṣbahānī
a. Muḥammad 'Abdallah b. Ibrāhīm Aṣīli
a. Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad Qābisi
Sa'id b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Sairafi 'Ayyār
'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallah Ḥamdānī
a. Nu'aim Iṣbahānī
Qābisi
Abu Dharr
a. Ḥasan 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar Dāwūdī
Abu Dharr
a. Sahl Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ḥafṣi
Karīmah, daughter of Aḥmad, the Marwazīyah
a. 'Abdallah Muḥammad b. Barakāt Nahawi Sa'idi
a. 'Alī Ismā'il b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥājib Kushānī [5]
a. Ṣālib Khalaf b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il Bukhārī
a. Faḍl b. a. 'Imrān Harawi (oral)
Ḥakam b. Muḥammad
a. 'Abbās Ja'far b. Muḥammad Mustaghfirī
a. Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad
Abu Mūsa
a. 'Alī Jayyānī
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Nasawi
Ḥākim a. 'Abdallah Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah
a. Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn Khalaf
a. Faḍl Ibn Nāṣir
Ḥasan b. Sayid 'Alawi
Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid (707-798) [20]
Aḥmad b. a. Bakr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid
Rabī' b. a. Ṭāhir b. Qudāmah
Mustaghfirī
a. Abdallah Ḥasan b. Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥya Zabeidī (d. 631) [9] (oral)
a. Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar Qaṭī'ī (d. 634) [7]
a. Ḥasan 'Alī b. a. Bakr b. Ruzbeh Qalānisī (d. 635) [8]
Muḥammad b. Zuhair Sha'rānah (d. 632) [6]
Thābit b. Muḥammad Khujandī (d. 637) [10]
Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid Madīnī
Manṣūr
(written)
(same as previous inside to Manṣūr)
Lady of the Viziers, daughter of 'Umar b. As'ad, the Tanukhīyah (624-716) [13]
a. 'Alī Muḥammad b. 'Alī Jīn
Sulaimān b. Ḥamzah b. a. 'Umar (628-715) [11]
'Isa b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ibn Mā'ūl (626-717) [15]
a. Bakr b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd ad-Dā'im [16]
a. Muḥammad 'Abd ar-Raḥīm b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd ar-Raḥīm Ḥarnawi
a. Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad Jauzi
a. Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abd al-Mu'min Ba'lī (709-800) [18]
Abu'l-Qāsim Hibat-Allāh b. 'Alī b. Mas'ūd Būṣīri
Mu'in Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf Dimashqi
Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Qawi Ibn 'Arrūn
'Uthmān b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Rashīq
a. Ḥusain Yaḥya b. 'Alī 'Aṭṭar
a. 'Alī 'Abd ar-Raḥīm b. 'Abdallah Anṣārī (711-746) [19]
a. Faḍl 'Abd ar-Raḥīm b. Ḥasan 'Irāqi (725-806) [21]
a. 'Alī Ḥusain b. Muḥammad Jayyānī
'Abdallah b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī Bāhili
'Abdallah b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Dihqī
Ja'far b. Aḥmad Ḥamdānī
Yaḥya b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd
a. 'Alī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (oral)
a. 'Umar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥya
a. 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abdallah b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Barr
a. Maktūm 'Isa, son of abu Dharr
a. Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ḥamīd b. 'Ammār Tarābulusi
a. Qāsim 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. a. Ḥarma Makki
a. Aḥmad Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. a. Bakr Ṭabari (d. 722) [12]
a. Muḥammad 'Abdallah b. Muḥammad Makki (d. 790) [17]
'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa'id
Shurayh b. Muḥammad
a. Qāsim
a. 'Alī Aḥwaṣ
Abu Ḥayyān Muḥammad
a. Sulaimān Dāwūd b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Khālidī
a. Ja'far Aḥmad b. Yūsuf
Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. a. Rībānah Māliqī
Abu Ḥayyān
Abu Ḥayyān Muḥammad
a. 'Abdallah Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Anṣārī Ibn Yaṭīm
a. 'Alī Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Ḥaddād
a. Mūsa Muḥammad b. a. Bakr Madīni
Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Hādi Maqdisi
Sulaimān b. Ḥamza b. a. 'Umar
'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Dimashqi (oral)
a. Shākir 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn Muḥib
a. 'Alī Jayyānī
(same as previous inside to a. 'Alī Jayyānī)
Ḥātim b. Muḥammad Ṭarābulusi
Muḥammad b. Isḥāq Fārisi
Maṣṣūr b. 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Abdallah b. Muḥammad Ibn Faḍl
Taqī ad-Dīn 'Uthmān Ibn Ṣalāḥ
Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Ibn Mākūl
'Alī b. Muḥammad Dimashqi (oral)
a. Jābir Ibn Ṭāhir
'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Shah
a. Bakr Wajī Ibn Ṭāhir
a. 'Abdallah Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn Ṣāliḥ
a. Muḥammad 'Abd ar-Raḥīm b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd ar-Raḥīm Ḥarnawi
a. 'Alī Ismā'il b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥājib Kushānī [5]
a. 'Abbās Ja'far b. Muḥammad Mustaghfirī
a. Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad
Abu Mūsa
a. 'Alī Jayyānī
(same as previous inside to Abu Mūsa)

[1] 'Asqalānī asserts that Nasafī omitted portions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.
[2] According to 'Asqalānī, Nasawī had also omitted portions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.
[3] 'Asqalānī states, on the authority of Ibn Mākūla, that Bazdawī was the last to relate orally (*ḥadīthu*) from Bukhārī. But Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, p. 683) asserts with more truth, as we shall see below, that the last *ḥāfiẓ* to hand down the *Ṣaḥīḥ* orally (*riwa*) from Bukhārī himself was Farabri.
[4] 'Asqalānī mentions this man as an *obiter dictum*, because some other writers had believed that he had heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Bukhārī, but he says that those who had asserted this "made a great mistake."

[5] 'Asqalānī states that Kushānī was the last to relate orally (*ḥaddatha*) the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Farabri.
[6] Qurashi, *Jawāhir Muḍiyah*, i, 216.
[7] Dhahabi, *Tadhkirah*, iv, 204.
[8] Dhahabi, *Tadhkirah*, iv, 207.
[9] Dhahabi, *Tadhkirah*, iv, 241.
[10] Dhahabi, *Tadhkirah*, iv, 201.
[11] 'Asqalānī, *Durar Kāminah*, ii 54-55.
[12] 'Asqalānī, *Durar Kāminah*, ii 29.
[13] Shaukānī, *Badr Ṭāli'*, i, 261.
[14] 'Asqalānī, *Durar Kāminah*, iii 204.
[15] 'Asqalānī, *Durar Kāminah*, iv, 46 etc.
[16] 'Asqalānī, *Durar Kāminah*, i, 11-12.
[17] 'Asqalānī, *Durar Kāminah*, ii, 300-302.
[18] 'Asqalānī, *Durar Kāminah*, i, 357.
[19] 'Asqalānī, *Durar Kāminah*, ii, 357.
[20] 'Asqalānī, *Durar Kāminah*, i, 109.
[21] Ibn 'Imād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 55-56.

[To face page 16.

This editorial work was completed by the men of the fourth category of transmitters, who may be called "second editor-transmitters," especially by Abu'l-Waqt.

The majority of the names found in the remaining categories of transmitters are those of more or less obscure personages, who are only mentioned by 'Asqalāni because the tradition of the first, second, third and fourth categories of transmitters reached him through them. They were mere Shaikhs who either read or wrote the text of Bukhāri, as transmitted to them, to their pupils, who passed it on to other pupils. Any other writer of the time of 'Asqalāni, discussing the question of how the text of the first transmitters of Bukhāri had reached him, might have substituted other names for these intermediate Shaikhs. At the end of the list of editors and transmitters which I give below, I have only referred to the best scholars and editors who did critical work on the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, co-ordinated into one complete whole the various traditions which had come down to them concerning it, and edited it in the form in which we have it in our days.

List of the best transmitters and editors of Bukhāri.

Muḥammad b. Yūsuf a. 'Abdallah Farabri (or Firabri), born 231, died 320, at the age of 89 years.[1]

Muḥammad b. Bakr a. Haitham Kushmaihani, died 388.[2]

'Abdallah b. Ibrāhīm a. Muḥammad Aṣīli, died 392.[3]

[1] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* (edit. de Slane, text), p. 683; Sam'āni, *Ansāb* (Gibb Memorial), fol. 422*a*; Ibn 'Imād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 286; Qurashi, *Jawāhir Muḍiyah*, ii, 76-77 (edit. Hyderabad, A.H. 1332); Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ* (edit. Hyderabad, A.H. 1334), iii, 202, 215; and Diyārbakri, *Ta'rīkh al-khamīs*, ii, 351 (Wahb Press, A.H. 1283).

[2] Sam'āni, *Ansāb*, fol. 484*a*; Qurashi, *Jawāhir Muḍiyah*, ii, 76-77; and Ibn 'Imād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 129. Sam'āni (*Ansāb* fol. 484) spells the name "Kushmihani," but Ṣafadi, in his *Wāfi bi'l-Wafayāt*, i, 212 (edit. Ritter), and Qurashi, *Jawāhir Muḍiyah*, ii, 341, state that it is to be read "Kushmihini." Another Kushmaihani, Muḥammad a. Fatḥ b. a. Taubah, who died in 548, was also versed in Bukhāri, and taught his text to Abu Sa'd Sam'āni, mentioned below. See Subki, *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'īyah* (Ḥusainīyah Press), iv, 77.

[3] Yāqūt, *Buldān*, i, 278-279 (edit. Cairo, A. H. 1323); Dhahabi, *Tadhkirah*, iii, 214-215; Ibn Khaṭīb, *Tuḥfat dhawi al-Arab*, p. 137 (edit. Mann); and Ibn 'Imād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 140, etc.

'Ali b. Muḥammad a. Ḥasan ibn al-Qābisi Farawi, born 324, died 403, at the age of 79 years.[1]

'Abdallah b. Aḥmad Harawi, known as Abu Dharr, died 434, at the age of 78 years.[2]

'Abd al-Awwal b. 'Isa b. Shu'aib Sijzi Harawi, known as Abu'l-Waqt, died 553, at the age of 95 years.[3]

'Abd al-Karīm a. Sa'd (or Sa'īd) Sam'āni, died 562; and his son, 'Abd ar-Raḥīm Sam'āni, died 614.[4]

'Ali b. Ḥasan a. Qāsim ibn 'Asākir, died 571.[5]

Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Ṣāghāni, died 650.[6]

'Ali b. Muḥammad Sharaf ad-Dīn Yūnīni, died 701.[7]

The list of these transmitters and editors of the text of Bukhāri is reproduced more or less completely in some printed editions, notably that of Cairo, A.H. 1345.

According to some of the above long notes placed before the MSS. of Bukhāri,[8] Yūnīni's text was based on the texts of Aṣīli, Abu Dharr, Sam'āni and Ibn 'Asākir. Great credence was given

[1] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, p. 469; Dhahabi, *Tadhkirah*, iii, 263-265; Dabbāgh, *Ma'ālim al-'Imān*, iii, 168; Ṣafadi, *Nikat al-'Imyān*, 217; and Ibn 'Imād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 168.

[2] Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, iv, 224, 251, 280; vi, 485-486 (second edit. D. S. Margoliouth); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, p. 302; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ix, 177 (edit. Cairo); Dhahabi, *Tadhkirah*, iii, 284-288; and Ibn 'Imād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 254.

[3] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 425-426; Sam'āni, *Ansāb*, ff. 291*b*-292*a*; Ibn as-Sā'i, *Al-Jāmi' al-Mukhtaṣar* (Baghdad, 1934), pp. 9, 14, 35, 58-59, etc.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, xi, 90; Ibn 'Imād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 166; and Dhahabi, *Tadhkirah*, iii, 8, and iv, 106.

[4] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 418-420; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, *passim*; Dhahabi, *Tadhkirah*, iv, 107-110; *Abu'l-Fidā'*, iii, 44; Ṭāsh Kupri Zādah, *Miftāḥ as-Sa'ādah*, i, 211 (edit. Hyderabad, 1328 A.H.); Ibn 'Imād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 205; Subki, *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyah*, iv, 259-260; and Diyārbakri, *Khamīs*, ii, 366.

[5] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 463-465; Subki, *Ṭabaqāt as-Shāfi'iyah*, iv, 273-277; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, v, 139-146; Ṭāsh Kupri Zādah, *Miftāḥ as-Sa'ādah*, i, 311; Dhahabi, *Tadhkirah*, iv, 118-124; Ibn 'Imād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 239; and Diyārbakri, *Khamīs*, ii, 366.

[6] Ibn al-Fūṭi, *Ḥawādith Jāmi'ah*, pp. 262-264 (Baghdad, 1351 A.H.); Qurashi, *Jawāhir Muḍiyah*, i, 201-202; Suyūṭi, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 227 (edit. Cairo, 1326); Muḥammad Bāqir, *Rauḍat al-Jannāt*, p. 223 (edit. Teheran); Muḥammad Luknawi, *Fawā'id*, p. 63; Ṭāsh Kupri Zādah, *Miftāḥ as-Sa'ādah*, i, 98; and Diyārbakri, *Khamīs*, ii, 372.

[7] *J.A.*, 202, 217, and not Muḥ. Yūnīni, as in *Encycl. of Islām.*, I, 783.

[8] See for instance MS. Mingana Arab. (Isl.) 202*b*, ff 1*b*-2*a*.

to his text after his death by the traditionists from the fact that for its vowelling and editing he had the advice of no less a grammarian than the celebrated Ibn Mālik, who died in 672.[1] It is for this reason that the majority of the copies of Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* transcribed after 700 are based on Yūnīnī's text. This is especially the case with the MSS. written in Morocco, Algeria, Egypt and Syria, while the MSS. written in Arabia, India, Persia and 'Irāq are more generally based on the text edited by Ṣāghānī.[2] It should be stated, however, that, if we are to believe the traditionists, both Ṣāghānī and Yūnīnī made use of the traditional texts of the above transmitters, but the variants which they give us as derived from their texts are often so insignificant and trivial as not to justify swelling with them the margins of printed texts and modern MSS.

A second source for the authentication of Bukhārī's text is to be found in his commentators. There is no need here to refer to all these commentators, most of whom may be seen in Brockelmann,[3] who mentions twenty-seven different commentaries, some of which with super-commentaries. The following three commentaries, which have been published, are credited with special importance by the Muslim traditionists of our day :

Fatḥ al-Bārī, by Ibn Ḥajar 'Asqalānī, who died in 852.
'Umdat al-Qārī, by Maḥmūd 'Aini, who died in 855.
Irshād as-Sārī, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Qasṭallānī, who died in 923.

I have consulted the printed texts of these three commentators, and I am under the impression that they did not possess any early texts of Bukhārī, apart from those established by Sam'ānī, Ibn 'Asākir, Ṣāghānī and Yūnīnī. They do often refer to Farabrī, Kushmaihanī and other early transmitters, but they did not possess a written text by them. Their knowledge of the texts established by them seems to have been only traditional, and to have been taken from the works of later traditionists such as Abu Dharr, Abu'l-Waqt and others. Of the twenty-seven different commentators

[1] See Yūnīnī's statement in the Cairene edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* (1345 A.H.), i, 7.
[2] See for instance the Rylands MSS. 125 and 126, pp. 206-209 of my *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. of the John Rylands Library*.
[3] *Geschichte der Arab. Lit.*, i, 158-159.

mentioned by Brockelmann, all but one died after 559, at a time when the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* had been more or less finally fixed by its first and best editor-transmitters, Abu Dharr and Abu'l-Waqt. Their work, therefore, so far as the early transmission of the text of Bukhāri is concerned, is of little value.

The one commentator who died before 559 is Muḥammad Khaṭṭābi, who died in 388. A commentary by him is mentioned in Brockelmann,[1] and is referred to by Sam'āni,[2] Ibn Khallikān[3] and Yāqūt,[4] and quoted in 'Asqalāni's commentary. His full name is Aḥmad (or Ḥamd) b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khaṭṭāb a. Sulaimān Busti Khaṭṭābi.[5] While Yāqūt in volume ii, page 83, calls his book simply "A commentary on Bukhāri," in volume iv, page 142, he gives to it the title "*I'lām as-sunan* in the commentary of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhāri." This title is given in Ibn Khallikān with the omission of the word *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In Sam'āni the title is *I'lām al-Ḥadīth*, while in Brockelmann[6] the title is given as: *I'lām al-Bukhāri fi sharḥ ma'āni jāmi' aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ*. It is rather strange that Dhahabi,[7] who devotes a special section to Khaṭṭābi, does not mention among his books a commentary on Bukhāri, nor is such a commentary mentioned in the long chapter devoted to him by Subki.[8] It is, therefore, possible that this commentary only dealt with some stray and unsystematic sections of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhāri, which, as suggested above, may have been current among the public in different *ḥadīth* schools. What seems to lend colour to this surmise is the smallness of the size and the contents of the Constantinople MS. which contains this commentary, as compared with the bulk of the original text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Until the text of the Constantinople MS. is, therefore, published, and its authenticity established, we shall not be able to draw any conclusion as to its importance in the history of the transmission of the text of Bukhāri. The comparative apparatus found on the margins of many MSS. of Bukhāri never gives any reading from Khaṭṭābi,

[1] *Geschichte der Arab. Lit.*, i, 158. [2] *Ansāb*, fol. 202*b*.
[3] *Wafayāt*, 243-244. [4] *Irshād al-Arīb*, ii, 81-86; and iv, 141-143.
[5] Cf. Ibn Khaṭīb, *Tuḥfat dhawi al-arab*, p. 154.
[6] *Geschichte der Arab. Lit.*, i, 158. [7] *Tadhkirah*, iii, 209-211.
[8] *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyah*, ii, 218-222.

nor do the historical notes placed in some MSS. before the text of Bukhāri, in order to establish its authenticity by a more or less uninterrupted chain of authorities, make any mention of him. A commentary by him on the *Sunan* of Abu Dāwūd (and not on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhāri), of which mention had been made by many of the above authorities, has only recently been published.[1]

III.

We have mentioned in the above list (1) the best transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and (2) the most important editors who established its text as we have it in our days. We have not included Marwazi in the list, because he left nothing in a written form that has come down to posterity; but as he is the intermediate link connecting Farabri with Aṣīli, the supposed author of the present MS., we will speak of him at some length in the following brief discussion of each of the above transmitters and editors.

Ibn Khallikān[2] states that Farabri was the last *ḥāfiẓ* to hand down the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Bukhāri himself. He is called by him a *rāwi*, or narrator. The expression *rawa 'an* means that the narrator had heard and seen the author or writer from whom he was narrating. The same may to some extent be said of the expression *ḥaddatha 'an;* but to my knowledge neither expression has ever referred to a written document lying before the narrator. In such a case the text of the first author is simply quoted, with the mention of his name and the title of his work, but without the use of the verb *rawa* or *ḥaddatha*. The same statement as to the mode of teaching of Farabri is found also in Ibn 'Imād.[3] Diyārbakri[4] expressly states in this connection that Farabri was "the one from whom the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhāri was narrated," and adds that "the text of Bukhāri did not spread except through him." This statement is confirmed by Sam'āni,[5] who writes that "people repaired

[1] *Ma'ālim as-Sunan*, 4 vols., Aleppo, 1932-1934.
[2] *Wafayāt*, p. 683.
[3] *Shadharāt*, ii, 286.
[4] *Khamīs*, ii, 351.
[5] *Ansāb*, fol. 422*a*.

to Farabri and took from him this book" (i.e. the *Ṣaḥīḥ*). From Farabri, Kushmaihani and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad abu Zaid Marwazi took their *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhāri. More will be written below about Marwazi, who conveyed the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Aṣīli and Qābisi, and so forms the direct link between the text of the present MS. and Farabri.

An important point to which attention should be drawn here is that many oral statements of Farabri, who had seen and heard Bukhāri, were taken over by his pupils, Marwazi and Kushmaihani, and by them transmitted, either in a written or in an oral form, to subsequent traditionists. We have drawn attention above to three such oral statements, two from the printed text and one from the present MS. These oral statements sometimes deal with verbal discrepancies, but more often with historical references to some personages mentioned by Bukhāri or to some geographical names found in his text. Later transmitters incorporated these oral statements from Farabri in the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* itself, which in this way contains many sentences which cannot possibly emanate from Bukhāri. Some of them may have been marginal notes in the text established by some early transmitters, which may have been later embodied in the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by more modern transmitters, such as Abu Dharr and Abu'l-Waqt. In the case of the MS. under consideration, the writer clearly gives the oral statement of Farabri as an *obiter dictum* incidental to the text of Bukhāri. More modern MSS., however, incorporate Farabri's statements as part of the text of Bukhāri, under Farabri's *kunyah*, "Abu 'Abdallah," without further explanation. Their copyists may not have known who this "Abu 'Abdallah" was, and may have believed that he was one of the oral sources of Bukhāri himself. It was left to the critical editors and commentators of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhāri, such as Sam'āni, and more especially 'Asqalāni, to complete the process of separating, in their text, the precise wording of Bukhāri from the spurious accretions that had crept into it in the shape of the oral comments of its first transmitters.

Kushmaihani, who, as stated above, was a pupil of Farabri, may have committed to writing in a systematic way portions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhāri, although the words used about him by subsequent traditionists imply in his case, as in the case of Farabri, a

riwāyah, which does not necessarily involve systematically written records. It is even possible that some of the references to the variants of the text of Bukhāri quoted as from Kushmaihani by the commentators and in the marginal notes to some MSS. of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* may refer not to Abu Haitham Kushmaihani, who died in 388, but to Abu Fatḥ Kushmaihani, who died in 548, and who taught the text of Bukhāri to the famous Abu Sa'd Sam'āni.[1] Kushmaihani's transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* seems to have been better appreciated in the Eastern parts of the Caliphate, Persia, Afghanistan and Turkestan, with parts of Sind and 'Irāq. In the Western parts of the Caliphate, including Spain, Egypt, Morocco, and parts of Syria, the text which was more in use was that edited and established by the Spaniard Aṣīli and the Ifrīqi Qābisi. There is no doubt in their case that they committed to writing in a systematic way all the work of Bukhāri. The references to them by early *ḥāfiẓs* seem to establish this point without the shadow of a doubt.

It seems probable that if Kushmaihani's teacher Farabri, and Aṣīli's and Qābisi's teacher Abu Zaid Marwazi, had committed to writing in a systematic way the whole text of Bukhāri, either that entire text would have come down to us, or at least some direct traces of it, as distinct from historical and topographical allusions and differences in the right reading of words, would have been recorded in the marginal notes of the numerous MSS. which contain the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, or quoted by the commentators. Indeed if Farabri had written the whole text of Bukhāri in a systematic way, as we have it in our days, his text would have been almost as precious as that of Bukhāri himself. No school of *ḥadīth* could have dispensed with it, copies of it would have been multiplied, and the hand of time would not have been allowed to deal so harshly with it. But to my knowledge no positive traces of a MS. written either by Farabri, or still less by Marwazi, have come down to posterity, with the exception of the statement of some copyists, found at the beginning of a few MSS. of Bukhāri (such as the Rylands MS. No. 125,[2] written in A.D. 1623), to the effect that Ṣāghāni referred to a copy (*naskhah*) of Farabri. We have no means of ascertaining

[1] Subki, *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyah*, iv, 77.

[2] See my *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the John Rylands Library*, p. 206.

whether this *naskhah* implies a complete text of Bukhāri written by Farabri himself, or whether it only refers to the differences in the reading of some words of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* and to the historical allusions transmitted from their master by the disciples of Farabri, which we have so often underlined in this study. The earliest true variants in Bukhāri's text, as distinct from the above historical and geographical allusions and differences in the right reading of stray words, originate from the three contemporary *ḥāfiẓs*, Kushmaihani, Aṣīli and Qābisi.

For the right understanding of the text exhibited in the present MS., more detailed information should be given about the transmitters Aṣīli and Qābisi. The former studied in Cordova, and had as teachers Ibn Mashshāṭ and Muḥammad b. Salīm. His knowledge of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was taken from Abu Zaid Marwazi. After travelling to Egypt, he was promoted to the judgeship of Saragossa, which he relinquished shortly after to go back to Cordova. He is said to have been a "head" [1] in the *ḥadīth*. Dārquṭni is quoted as saying of him: "I have not seen anyone so well versed in the *ḥadīth* as Aṣīli." Yāqūt [2] says of him that "he was quick-tempered but versed in the *ḥadīth*, and with him people read the book of Bukhāri according to the *riwāyah* of Abu Zaid al-Marwazi." The important point which concerns us here is the fact that he learned the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhāri from Abu Zaid Marwazi, or, to give him his full name, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad a. Zaid Marwazi, who was born in 301 and died in 371. This teacher Marwazi, like his own teacher Farabri, is not said himself to have written any book on Bukhāri's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. He was, like Farabri, a mere teacher in the *ḥadīth* of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibn Khallikān [3] states that "he taught orally (*ḥaddatha*) in Makkah the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhāri, which he took from Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Farabri." Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādi asserts [4] that "Abu Zaid al-Marwazi was the best of those who spoke orally (*rawa*) this book," i.e. the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhāri. In speaking of the work of Marwazi on Bukhāri's *Ṣaḥīḥ* which he took from Farabri, Subki [5] uses also the word "*ḥaddatha*." Ac-

[1] Dhahabi, *Tadhkirah*, iii, 214.
[2] *Buldān*, i, 278.
[3] *Wafayāt*, 646-647.
[4] *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, i, 314 (edit. Cairo, 1931).
[5] *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 108-112. Marwazi is also mentioned by Dhahabi, *Tadhkirah*, iii, 214 and 264.

cording to both Ibn Khallikān and Subki, Marwazi seems to have been a very devout and pious man, and al-Khaṭīb,[1] quoting an even earlier author, said of him that "the angels will not write anything sinful against his name."

Qābisi is also important for our investigation, as he was a contemporary of Aṣīli and, like him, took his *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abu Zaid Marwazi. He first studied in Ifrīqīah, and then repaired to Egypt and Makkah, where he heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhāri from the above Abu Zaid Marwazi. Between the work of Aṣīli and that of Qābisi there is, however, this difference, that it was Aṣīli who, as Dhahabi states,[2] corrected (*ḍabaṭa*) for Qābisi the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhāri, which he had heard from Abu Zaid Marwazi. In the transmission of the text of Bukhāri, therefore, Qābisi has not the same importance as Aṣīli, whose pupil to some extent he was.

A considerable number of variants in the text of Bukhāri, as given by the commentators and the marginal notes of MSS., are from Abu Dharr Harawi. His text is that of the school of Kushmaihani, whose disciple he was,[3] but as he had travelled also extensively in the Western parts of the Caliphate, down to Damascus and Makkah, where he put the finishing touches to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, his text is received with great respect by all the editors of Bukhāri. He is, however, essentially of the school of Kushmaihani, and thus belongs to the Eastern part of the Caliphate.

So far as Abu'l-Waqt is concerned, although born in Herat, he belonged to the central provinces, because his active life was spent mostly in Irbil and Baghdad.[4] His text is as much valued and quoted as that of Abu Dharr.

The remaining authors in the above list: Sam'āni, Ibn 'Asākir, Ṣāghāni and Yūnīni, are not transmitters in the true sense of the word, but, as stated above, mere editors. The text, however, which they established is that followed by all the subsequent copyists and commentators of Bukhāri. It is they who collected the early variants of the text, and handed them down in the form in which we see them in the numerous MSS. of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Each one of them seems to have evinced a special interest in the text

[1] *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, i, 314.
[2] *Tadhkirah*, iii, 264.
[3] Dhahabi, *Tadhkirah*, iii, 287.
[4] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 426.

fixed by an early transmitter. We know, for instance, that Sam'āni had a special predilection for the text of Abu'l-Waqt,[1] while Yūnīni, in utilizing the text edited by Sam'āni and Ibn 'Asākir, was, as we have seen, influenced more strongly by the text handed down by the early transmitters Aṣīli and Abu Dharr.[2] The text edited by Ṣāghāni, on the other hand, embodied more of the text of the school of Farabri and Kushmaihani than did that of Yūnīni.

IV.

Two important questions now arise: (*a*) Who was the writer of the present MS., and (*b*) At what time was the text of Bukhāri separated from the oral element found in it? I mean by the oral element, the sentence which precedes every tradition in the present MS: "Bukhāri has informed us, saying," and the still more important statement, found before every large section of the work: "We were told by Abu Zaid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Marwazi, who said, 'We were told by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Farabri, who said, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhāri informed us, saying, We were told, etc.'"

In answer to the first question, we may put forward the following suggestions. We have stated above that the present MS. may, on palaeographical grounds, be ascribed to about A.D. 1000, or to a slightly earlier date. The year A.D. 1000 corresponds with the year A.H. 391, so the MS. probably saw the light of day between A.H. 370 and 391, or some 120 years after Bukhāri's death. It has also been demonstrated in the preceding sections that the immediate teacher of the writer of the MS. was Abu Zaid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Marwazi, who was himself taught by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Farabri. The question of these two teachers is definitely settled by the indications of the MS. itself, and is thus removed from the realm of doubt. We have already spoken both of Farabri,

[1] See Sam'āni's own statement in his *Ansāb*, fol. 291b.

[2] See also Yūnīni's statement in the Cairene edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* (1345 A.H.). i, 7.

who died in 320 at the age of eighty-nine, and of Marwazi, the teacher of Aṣīli and of Qābisi, who died in 371 at the age of seventy. Now Aṣīli died in 392, a date corresponding more or less exactly with the probable year of the transcription of the MS. We may, therefore, conjecture with some degree of probability that the present MS. is the very MS. written either by Aṣīli himself or under his dictation. I feel tempted to ascribe the MS. to Aṣīli, rather than to Qābisi, who died in 403, because Qābisi, having had his education in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* completed by Aṣīli and his MS. of this work corrected by him,[1] would have supposedly mentioned in that MS. his indebtedness to Aṣīli.

The second question is more difficult to answer. We may conjecture that the change was brought about gradually. From the scanty and sometimes not very reliable traces of ancient verbal transmission found in the marginal notes of many MSS., it may be conjectured that this change began to take place in the fifth century, and that it was introduced by the famous editor-transmitter Abu Dharr. The process may have been continued and finally standardized and confirmed towards the beginning of the sixth century, by Abu'l-Waqt, who seems to have been the last true editor-transmitter of the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. After his time, to judge from the work of the subsequent transmitters, or rather editors—Sam'āni, Ibn 'Asākir, Ṣāghāni and Yūnīni—Bukhāri's text is in form, order and phraseology, exactly as we have it in our days. Various readings do exist in the text as edited for us by these men of letters, but such various readings are normal, and only bear on the right reading of words, or on the addition or elimination of one or two unimportant verbs, nouns or particles. These various readings are also carefully registered by the commentators. It is to such discrepancies in texts exhibited in different MSS. of a work that we generally apply the name "variants." No work of any kind preserved in many MSS. exists without them. They are due to the carelessness of copyists, to whom, as to any one of us, may be applied the words of the Latin sage: *Errare humanum est.*

[1] Dhahabi, *Tadhkirah*, iii, 264.

V.

I had first intended to give a complete set of facsimile reproductions of the folios of the manuscript, but considerations dealing with the cost of these reproductions induced me to give only nine out of the one hundred and four pages of which the MS. consists. The block-makers assured me that the state of preservation of the MS. consequent upon its age was not conducive to the making of line-blocks for its reproduction, and that half-tone blocks were necessary. The abnormal difference between the cost of half-tone blocks and of line-blocks influenced my choice of nine half-tone blocks only. Another consideration was that the reproduction of all the pages was not really necessary for students interested in the critical study of the early transmission of Muslim Traditions. The nine pages which I have chosen are those to which reference has been made in the preceding lines, and may be considered as a good criterion of the remaining and unreproduced pages of the MS. ; their size also is exactly that of the folios of the MS. To facilitate references to these facsimile reproductions, I have marked on their margins the numbers of the folios which they occupy in the MS.

The present essay forms part of the Woodbrooke series of studies, the publication of which is made possible through the generosity of Mr. Edward Cadbury.[1]

[1] The preceding pages were in the press when I received *Lieferung* 5 of the Supplement of Brockelmann's *Gesch. der Arab. Litter.* (1936). It appears from p. 261 that there are a few more extant fragments of Khaṭṭābi's commentary, mentioned above on pp. 20–21.

الجزء الثاني من الجامع الصحيح المسند

من حديث رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وسننه

تصنيف أبي عبد الله محمد بن اسمعيل البخاري

Minyana Arab
225 (Sal)

Fol. 1a

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

كتاب

باب

وجوب الزكاة وقول الله عزوجل واقيموا الصلاة
واتوا الزكاة وقال ابن عباس حدثني ابوسفين بن حرب
فذكر حديث النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وقال يامرنا بالصلاة
والزكاة والصلة والعفاف

اخبرنا ابوزيد محمد بن احمد قال حدثنا محمد بن يوسف قال اخبرنا البخاري
قال حدثنا ابوعاصم الضحاك بن مخلد عن زكريا بن اسحق عن يحيى عن عبد الله
بن صيفي عن ابي معبد عن ابن عباس ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بعث معاذا الى اليمن
فقال ادعهم الى شهادة ان لا اله الا الله وانى رسول الله فان هم اطاعوا
لذلك فاعلمهم ان الله افترض عليهم خمس صلوات في كل يوم وليلة
فان هم اطاعوا لذلك فاعلمهم ان الله افترض عليهم صدقة في اموالهم
تؤخذ من اغنيائهم وترد في فقرائهم اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا حفص بن
عمر قال حدثنا عن محمد بن عثمان بن عبد الله بن موهب عن موسى بن طلحة
عن ابي ايوب الانصاري قال جاء اعرابي الى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال اخبرني بعمل يدخلني الجنة قال
ما له ما له وقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ارب ما له تعبد الله لا تشرك به شيئا
وتقيم الصلاة وتؤتي الزكاة وتصل الرحم دعها قال ليهر حدثنا شعبة
قال حدثنا محمد بن عثمان وابوه عثمان بن عبد الله انه سمعا موسى بن طلحة عن ابي
ايوب بهذا اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا محمد بن عبد الحكم
قال حدثنا عثمان بن مسلم قال حدثنا وهيب عن يحيى بن سعيد عن حبان

باب صاع

صدقة الفطر صاعا من طعام

في الموطا في كتاب مسلم في كتاب

اخبرنا البخاري والد سنا عبد الله بن يوسف قال اخبرنا مالك عن زيد بن اسلم عن عياض بن عبد الله بن سعد بن ابي سرح العامري انه سمع ابا سعيد الخدري يقول كنا نخرج زكاة الفطر صاعا من طعام او صاعا من شعير او صاعا من تمر او صاعا من اقط او صاعا من

زبيب ع باب

صدقة الفطر صاعا من تمر ع

في كتاب مسلم

اخبرنا البخاري والد سنا احمد بن يونس والد سنا الليث ح وانبا ابن عبد الله قال امر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بزكاة الفطر صاعا من تمر او صاعا من شعير قال عبد الله فجعل الناس عدله مدين من

حنطة ع باب صدقة الفطر

صاع من زبيب

اخبرنا البخاري والد سنا عبد الله بن منير سمع يزيد العدني والد سنا سفين عن زيد بن اسلم والد ثني عياض بن عبد الله بن ابي سرح عن ابي سعيد الخدري قال كنا نعطيها في زمان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم صاعا من طعام او صاعا من تمر او صاعا من شعير او صاعا من زبيب فلما جاء معوية وجاء السمراء قال اراه مدا من هذا يعدل مدين ع قال محمد بن يوسف الفريابي سمعت بعض اصحابنا عن محمد بن اسمعيل انه قال حدثنا عبد الله بن منير ولم ار مثله وقال محمد بن يوسف ابن منير فريابي سكن فريابي ومات قبل الخمس واربعين ومائتين وهو الذي فتح الشبكات لما ارتد واع

(٦)

باب
الصدقة قبل العيد

اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا آدم قال حدثنا شعبة عن نافع بن جبير بن مطعم قال
حدثني موسى بن عقبة عن نافع عن ابن عمر ان النبي صلى الله عليه
وسلم امر بزكاة الفطر قبل خروج الناس الى الصلوة
اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا معاذ بن فضالة قال حدثنا ابو عمر عن زيد بن اسلم
عن عياض بن عبد الله بن سعد عن ابي سعيد الخدري قال كنا نخرج في
عهد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يوم الفطر صاعا من طعام قال
ابو سعيد وكان طعامنا الشعير والزبيب والاقط والتمر

باب
صدقة الفطر على الحر والمملوك
وقال الزهري في المملوكين للتجارة يزكى
في التجارة ويزكى في الفطر

اخبرنا الحلواني قال حدثنا ابو النعمان قال حدثنا حماد بن زيد قال حدثنا ايوب
عن نافع عن ابن عمر قال فرض النبي صلى الله عليه صدقة الفطر او قال رمضان
على الذكر والانثى والحر والمملوك صاعا من تمر او صاعا من شعير فعدل
الناس به نصف صاع من بر فكان ابن عمر يعطي التمر فاعوز اهل المدينة من
التمر فاعطى شعيرا وكان ابن عمر يعطي عن الصغير والكبير حتى ان كان
ليعطي عن بني وكان ابن عمر يعطيها الذين يقبلون وكانوا يعطون قبل
الفطر بيوم او يومين

باب
صدقة الفطر على الصغير والكبير

اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا مسدد قال حدثنا يحيى عن عبيد الله قال حدثني نافع عن ابن
عمر قال فرض رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم صدقة الفطر صاعا من شعير على الصغير
والكبير والحر والمملوك

اخر كتاب الزكاة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

كتاب الصوم

باب

وجوب رمضان وقول الله عز وجل يا ايها
الذين امنوا كتب عليكم الصيام كما
كتب على الذين من قبلكم لعلكم تتقون

حدثنا ابو زيد محمد بن احمد المروزي قال حدثنا محمد بن يوسف
الفربري قال اخبرنا محمد بن اسمعيل البخاري قال حدثنا قتيبة بن سعيد
قال حدثنا اسمعيل بن جعفر عن ابي سهيل عن ابيه عن طلحة بن
عبيد الله ان اعرابيا جاء الى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
ثائر الرأس فقال يا رسول الله اخبرني ماذا فرض الله علي من
الصلاة فقال الصلوات الخمس الا ان تطوع شيئا قال اخبرني
بما فرض الله علي من الصيام فقال شهر رمضان الا ان تطوع شيئا
قال اخبرني بما فرض الله علي من الزكاة فاخبره رسول الله
صلى الله عليه وسلم شرائع الاسلام قال والذي اكرمك لا اتطوع
شيئا ولا انقص مما فرض الله علي شيئا فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه
وسلم افلح ان صدق او دخل الجنة ان صدق وحدثنا البخاري قال
حدثنا مسدد قال حدثنا اسمعيل عن ايوب عن نافع عن ابن عمر
قال صام النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عاشوراء وامر بصيامه فلما

فذكر ذلك للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقلت هذه الآية
احل لكم ليلة الصيام الرفث الى نسائكم ففرحوا فرحا شديدا
ونزلت فكلوا واشربوا حتى يتبين لكم الخيط الابيض من الخيط
الاسود من الفجر ثم اتموا الصيام الى
الليل فيه البرا عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا حجاج بن منهال قال حدثنا هشيم قال
اخبرنا حصين بن عبد الرحمن عن الشعبي عن عدي بن حاتم قال
لما نزلت حتى يتبين لكم الخيط الابيض من الخيط الاسود
عمدت الى عقال اسود والى عقال ابيض فجعلتهما تحت
وسادتي فجعلت انظر في الليل فلا يستبين لي فغدوت على
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فذكرت ذلك له فقال انما ذلك سواد
الليل وبياض النهار تم اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا سعيد بن ابي مريم قال حدثنا
قال حدثنا ابو غسان محمد بن مطرف قال حدثني ابو حازم عن سهل بن سعد
قال انزلت فكلوا واشربوا حتى يتبين لكم الخيط الابيض من الخيط
الاسود مما يبدو من الفجر فكان رجال اذا ارادوا الصوم ربط
احدهم في رجليه الخيط الابيض والخيط الاسود ولا يزال
ياكل حتى يستبين له رويتهما فانزل الله بعد من الفجر فعلموا انه

ولا يفطر انما الخارج والولج ويذكر عن ابي هريرة انه يفطر
والاول اصح وقال ابن عباس وعكرمة الصوم مما دخل وليس
مما خرج وكان ابن عمر يحتجم وهو صائم ثم تركه وكان يحتجم
بالليل واحتجم ابو موسى ليلا ويذكر عن سعد وزيد بن ارقم وام
سلمة احتجموا صياما وقال ابراهيم عن ام علقمة كنا نحتجم عند
عائشة فلا تنهانا وترى عن الحسن عن غير واحد مرفوعا قال
افطر الحاجم والمحجوم وقال محمد وقال لي عباس حدثنا
عبد الاعلى قال حدثنا يونس عن الحسن مثله قيل له عن النبي صلى الله عليه
وسلم قال نعم قال الله اعلم ورواه البخاري قال حدثنا معاذ بن اسد
قال حدثنا وهيب عن ايوب عن عكرمة عن ابن عباس ان النبي صلى الله عليه
وسلم احتجم وهو محرم واحتجم وهو صائم ورواه البخاري قال
حدثنا آدم قال ابن ابي ذئب قال حدثنا شعبة قال سمعت ثابتا البناني
يقول سئل انس بن مالك كنتم تكرهون الحجامة للصائم قال لا الا من
اجل الضعف وزاد شبابة قال حدثنا شعبة على عهد النبي صلى الله عليه
وسلم

باب الصوم في السفر والافطار

اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا علي بن عبد الله قال حدثنا سفين عن ابي اسحق
الشيباني سمع ابن ابي اوفى قال كنا مع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
في سفر فقال لرجل انزل فاجدح لي قال يا رسول الله الشمس

فلا يمس القمع عن عمر قال جاء النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بذي طوى
حتى اصبح ثم دخل مكة وكان ابن عمر يفعله ٭

باب
من اين يدخل مكة ٭

اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا ابو نعيم بن المنذر قال حدثني معقل والحديث في الموطأ
ملخص عن نافع عن ابن عمر قال كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يدخل من الثنية وكتاب مسلم
العليا ويخرج من الثنية السفلى ٭

باب
من اين يخرج من مكة ٭ هذا غير مذكور في نسخة كذا

اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا مسدد بن مسرهد قال حدثنا يحيى عن عبيد الله وكذا في مسلم
عن نافع عن ابن عمر ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل مكة من كدا
من الثنية العليا التي بالبطحاء وخرج من الثنية السفلى ٭ اخبرنا البخاري وذكره
قال حدثنا الحميدي ومحمد بن المثنى قالا حدثنا سفيان بن عيينة عن هشام
بن عروة عن ابيه عن عائشة ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لما جاء الى
مكة دخلها من اعلاها وخرج من اسفلها ٭ اخبرنا البخاري قال وذكره
حدثنا احمد قال اخبرنا عمرو عن هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عائشة
ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل عام الفتح من كدا اعلى مكة قال من
هشام فدخل عروة فدخل على اثرهما من كدا وغدى واخبرني ما عبد الله
ادخل كدى وكانت اقربهما الى منزله ٭ اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا ابن ابي عمر
عبد الوهاب قال حدثنا ايوب عن هشام عن عروة دخل النبي اخرجه
صلى الله عليه وسلم عام الفتح من كدا وكان عروة اكثر ما يدخل
من اعلى مكة ٭

من كدا وكان اقربهما الى منزله ۞ قال محمد حدثنا نصر قال اخبرنا
وهيب قال حدثنا هشام عن ابيه دخل النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عام الفتح
من كدى وكان عروة يدخل منها كلاهما واحبهما اليه دخل من كدى
اقربهما الى منزله ۞ اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا محمود قال حدثنا ابو
اسامة قال حدثنا هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عائشة ان النبي
صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل عام الفتح من كدى وخرج من كدا اعلا
مكة ۞

باب

فضل مكة وبنيانها قول الله تعالى
واذ جعلنا البيت مثابة للناس
وامنا واتخذوا من مقام ابرهيم مصلى
الى قوله الرحيم ۞

اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا عبد الله بن محمد قال حدثنا ابو عامر قال
اخبرني ابن جريج قال اخبرني عمرو بن دينار قال سمعت جابر بن عبد الله
يقول لما بنيت الكعبة ذهب النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم والعباس
ينقلان الحجارة فقال العباس للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم اجعل ازارك
على رقبتك فخر الى الارض فطمحت عيناه الى السماء فقال ازاري
ازاري فشد عليه ۞ اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا عبد الله بن مسلمة
عن مالك عن ابن شهاب عن سالم بن عبد الله ان عبد الله بن محمد بن ابي بكر
اخبره عبد الله بن عمر عن عائشة زوج النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ان
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال لها الم تري ان قومك حين بنوا
الكعبة اقتصروا عن قواعد ابرهيم فقلت يا رسول الله

ERRATA.

Page 4, line 31 : Delete the last بن

Page 5, line 1 : For المغيرة read والمغيرة

line 2 : For نحوه read نحو من

line 4 : For اثنان read اثنتان